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Japan's Reply to U.S. concerning Our Manchurian Policy

handed to U.S. Ambassador to-day

The imperial government expecting to secure your complete adherence to the treaties concluded in Washington as well as anti-war pact, should like to express our rejoicing at having been able to reascertain our belief that the U.S. government would fully support our imperial government's effort mentioned above. The imperial government, as often declared, regard as his own cardinal policy for Far East the so-called open-door policy to which the ambassador specially referred.

Unfortunately, the effect of the above-mentioned policy has been conspicuously lessened on account of an unstable situation prevailing throughout China. <sup>The</sup> Imperial government is determined to keep always the open-door policy as much as we can in Manchuria and Mongolia as well as in China proper. <sup>We</sup> Imperial government accepts your proposal described in the ambassador's letter to the effect that the U.S. can not recognize the legality of the items which had been brought about either infringing on the rights of both her government and people or basing on means which stood against the treaty concluded on August, 27, 1927.

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To discuss it from purely logical point of view, it should be doubtful whether or not inappropriate means in special cases will always prove futile but our Imperial government having no intention to depend upon inappropriate means, we think such matter as this would actually never occur.

We would, however, just add a word, and that is, in application of treaties concerning China, adequate consideration should always be required for the changes of conditions of the country, and especially her present insecure and disordered condition are what had never been anticipated at the time of agreement of the Washington Conference by the countries concerned. Of course even in those days the Chinese condition was not satisfactory, but she had never exposed her discord and lack of unity as at present. As a matter of fact, the <sup>n</sup>binding force and contents of treaties concerned should not to affected by such consideration. And yet, treaties should necessarily be applied in accordance with actual situation. We, thus, think that in application of treaties, extreme consideration of the present condition of China mentioned above is most necessary.

In addition, Our Imperial government wishes to point out the fact that the change of executive authorities of Manchuria and Mongolia was made entirely by the people of those districts to whom it was considered as unavoidable. Even in case of war-time occupation the nature of which is different from our present military action, it is a usual custom for local authorities to remain in their office. In the late incident,



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however, most of the Chinese authorities in Manchuria and Mongolia have either run away or resigned, resulting in collapse of political functions. Our Imperial government believes that it should be unreasonable to think that the Chinese are unlike other nations, incapable of self-determination and formation of a new government on their own initiatives to maintain order after the authorities had escaped. That the Imperial government has no territorial ambition in Manchuria and Mongolia, needs no further declaration. But, as the ambassador knows well, maintenance of security and welfare in Manchuria and Mongolia and opening of these districts for general commerce are for us matters of the greatest concern and importance.

Our Imperial government wishes to be allowed to express her full delights to know that the U.S. government who has thus far on various occasions made clear her intention not to overlook the importance of matters concerning Far East with friendly spirit making the most careful efforts to get a right recognition of the situation when it becomes so important a matter as to affect our very existence.

夕刊東京朝日新聞

昭和七年一月十七日

對滿政策に關するわが對米回答

けふ米大使に手交

帝國政府は華府諸條約並に不戰條約の完全なる履行を確保せん事を期するものにして右帝國政府の努力に對しては常に米政府の全幅の支持あるべきを確信したりしが、今回改めて右確信の誤りならざりしことも確め得たるは帝國政府の欣幸とする所に有之候

貴大使の時に言及せられたる所謂門戶開放の政策はさきにしばしば言明せる如く帝國政府において極東に關する政策の樞軸と認むる所なり確信むらくは支那全土にわたる不完全なる事態のため右政策の效果著しく減殺され居る状態なるも帝國政府はその力の及ぶ限り滿蒙に於ても支那本部におけると同様に門戶開放の政策を維持せんことを期するものに有之候、帝國政府は貴箇中米國政府乃至米國人臣の條約上の權利を侵害し若しくは一九二八年八月二十七日の條約に違反する手段に基きて成立せる事項の合法性を認むることを得ずとの御申出を諒承せり、純理により論ずれば特定の場合手段の妥當ならざる事が常に必然的に結果を無効ならしむるや否やは、疑問の餘地あるべきも帝國政府においては



素より何等受當ならざる學段に訴ふるの意思なきを以て實際上はかくの如き問題  
 は發生せざる義と思料致候

ただここに一言致度は支那に關する諸條約の適用については常に同國國情の變  
 化に對して相當の考慮を加ふるを要し殊に現下同國の不安ぶん亂の情況は華府  
 條約の締結に際し、當事國の戰て豫想せざりし事に之あり、當時においても支  
 那の國情不満足なりしは勿論なるも現今の如く不和不統一を暴露せざりし次第  
 なり。

固より之が爲關係諸條約の拘束力乃至内容に何等影響ある次第に非ざるも條約  
 の適用に當りては必ずや現實の事態に即して之を行ふを要するを以て前記の如  
 き支那の國情はこの點に關し深甚なる斟酌を必要とすべきやと思料せらるる次  
 第に有之候。

なほ帝國政府は滿蒙の行政當局に變更ありたるは、全く同地方人民が必要やむ  
 を得ざるの處置として自ら之れを行ひたるに過ぎざる所以を以て、  
 當時占領の時機において普通地方官憲は其の職に留るを例とする所今次事件に際し、  
 滿蒙における支那官憲は大方逃亡は辭職し其の結果政治機能の破壊を來した  
 る次第にして帝國政府は支那國民と異り民族自決の機能を缺き其の官憲の逃亡  
 に際し自ら政權を組織して秩序の維持に任じ得ざるの理由なきを言するものに  
 有之候

帝國政府が滿蒙に對し何等領土的企圖を有せざるは改めて言明の必要なき所貴大使も御承知有之べき通り滿蒙における安寧團結の維持並に同地方の一般通商に對する解放は帝國にとり最大關心事たると共に至上の重要問題なり米國政府が極東問題の重要性を看過せられざるの態度は從來も種々の機會においてこれを明らかにせられたる所なるが現下帝國の存立に關する重大の時局に際し同政府が友好的精神を以て事態の正常なる認識を得るがため細心の注意を拂はれつつあるを帝國政府の欣快とする所に有之候